/133 cont./

*177 582 563 369 562 [349]

colônias (in the município of Campo Grande or in Terenos), and who observed there the great capacity of the /Japanese/ woman for agricultural work, the young Terêna men began to eye the Japanese woman with

[241]

great interest. Naturally this is the case with the aldea Terêna, since it is he who devotes his activities to planting and does not see in the women of his own group good fellow workers on the land. (Cf. our work, 1958b.)

*177 582 563 369 562 [571]

situation gets worse: if he lives in an aldea and takes his wife there, she seldom adjusts to the Terêna community, and in addition is discriminated against by it; if he lives in a city (a more common /134/ situation and really an easier one to cope with), as a rule he must own some material goods in order to win the girl, and this makes marriage quite costly, not only for financial reasons but especially in terms of the gradual (in some cases immediate) estrangement from his ethnic group, even though he continues to consider himself Terêna, speaking the language and occasionally meeting with his old companions.

563 608 557 [175] [85]

The widening of the family network by means of the compadrio system constitutes a technique of Terêna accommodation in Brazilian society, when the godparents invited to the baptism of his children are selected from among the regional neo-Brazilian population or among the "Pururuya" who enjoy privileged positions in the city or on the fazendas. At the time when the Terêna scattered among the fazendas--from the

/134 cont./

Paraguayan war to the passage of the Rondon Commission--, baptism and consequently the compadrio system (in its most formal form) was almost a compulsory affair, during the visits of the padres to the "colônias," generally with the consent of the fazendeiro. The surnames that the Terêna carry today, adopted from their godparents, are a witness to that period. At present, with the probable exception of the population that still resides on fazendas, this is no longer of such frequent occurrence: in the aldeas, the intra- and intertribal compadrio system is almost absolute, (204) thus strengthening the tribal

204. In the aldeas, the only "Purutuya" godparent is the post superintendent, for obvious reasons.

solidarity threatened by the intense process of change to which the group has been subjected; in the cities, the interethnic compadrio is more common, not only because the field is naturally broader, but especially owing to the Indian's desire to rise socially through this. It is evident that the same mechanisms function here as those that lead individuals from the poorer classes to seek, by the technique of the compadrio, to rise on the social scale; it is only that in relation to ethnic groups--as is the case with the Terêna--, the compadrio represents, rather than social climbing, integration into the dominant structure. Nevertheless, it is unnecessary to underscore the fact that the compadrio is a technique rarely utilized by individuals of the soi disant Protestant group: the institution with results parallel /135/ to the compadrio for the "Believer," is the Evangelical fraternity that is built on worship groups.

4. Among all of the acculturative agencies that have undermined tribal resistance to change, the most effective have been the religious missions. Since this is true of all the indigenous groups that were subjected to religious proselytism

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

in the structure that prevented a Kauti/Xuna-Xati from marrying a Naati-Seenó, this apparently was made difficult by the greater resistance of the Naati, as the in-group, to stratum exogamy. The very same mechanisms which made difficult—or for practical purposes prevented—the promotion of a Kauti/Xuna-Xati to the post of "War Chief", function here as well in maintaining the endogamy of the group. Terena society on the whole regarded as a sufficient concession the admission of the Kauti/Xuna-Xati and their sons as members of the tribe. They had thus formally broken the ethnic line which separated them. But even thus the noble families, the "Chiefs of the People", i. e., the Naati, were very reluctant to admit them as members of the in-group. This is attested to by the differential status accorded the "War Chiefs" and the "Chiefs of the People". The prestige of the latter was much greater than that of the former (Altenfelder Silva, 1949 : 319-320). The Naati normally accepted the Waheré/Xuna-Xati, however, as mates of their women.[11] The advantage for a Naati in becoming also a Xuna-Xati was that it made him eligible for possible selection as a "War Chief". He already possessed the indispensable prerequisite of birth for being selected "Chief of the People". We should note here that in each local Terena group there was a single "Chief of the People" and a single "War Chief".

With the dynamic which this vertical mobility gave to the threefold assymetrical structure, Terena society had to find a way of accommodating the children of the Xuna-Xati (whether they were Kauti or Waheré) in the total social structure, i. e., not just in the threefold structure, but also in the twofold symmetrical structure. Thus the marriage a Kauti/Xuna-Xati man with a Waheré Xumonó woman for example, resulted in sons that were Xuna-Xati/Xumonó and in daughters that were Waheré-Seenó/Xumonó. The sons followed the paternal line as far as the title of *killer* (or warrior) was concerned, and the maternal line in moiety membership; the daughters followed the maternal line in both stratum and moiety membership (cf. Figure IV, a). If we were to examine the position of descendants of the union of a Waheré/Xuna-Xati/Suririkionó man, for example, with a Naati-Seenó/Suririkionó woman, the sons would have the same social position as the father, and the daughters the same as the mother (cf. Figure IV, b). In the first case the relationship seems to be regulated by a principle of double descent; while in the second by bilinearity.

Terena kinship relations, with the exception of the Xuna-Xati, had

[11] If we admit the thesis of Levi-Strauss, by which marriage is an interchange of women (1949), then the Naati would be at a distinct disadvantage, since they gave women to the Waheré/Xuna-Xati and received none in return, having to find their wives in other local groups, as we will show below.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

565 554 611 851 been bilateral by the very fact of stratum and moiety endogamy. With the introduction of the Xuna-Xati institution it came to be alternately patrilineal and matrilineal, as shown in the above examples. Some aspects, however, are not too clear. One of these has to do with the extension of the Xuna-Xati standing not only to the true sons of Ego (masculine), but also to all those who were included withim the classificatory term Dje-á i. e., to male offspring, the masculine members of one's sibling group. The disappearance of the social structure here studied leaves this problem practically unsolvable.

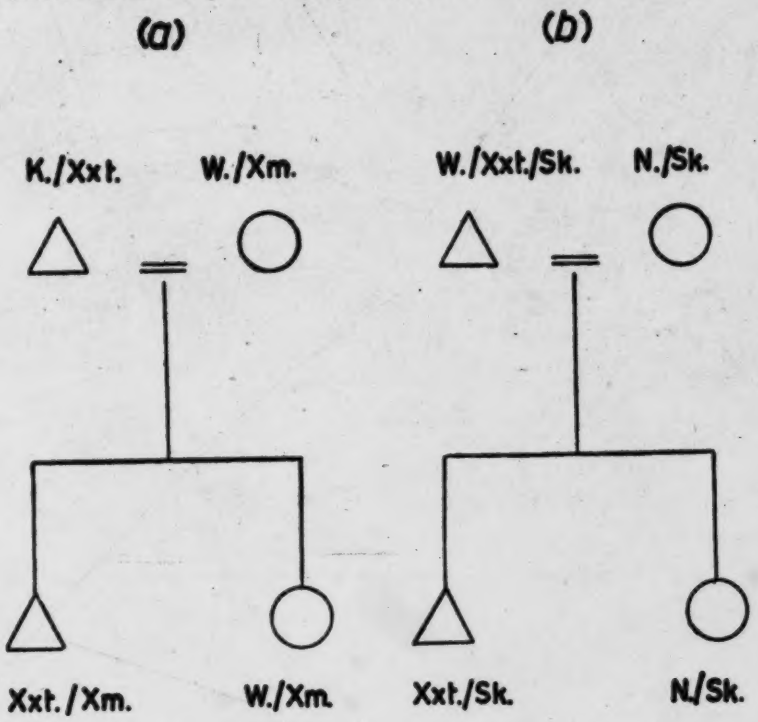

Figure IV

565 554 557 611 In summary, the existence of the Xuna-Xati as a mechanism for increasing both social position (either by enlarging the possibilities of marriage or by integration into the dominant tribal group), as well as political stature ("War Chief"), created a series of aspirations in aboriginal Terena society which were shared by all strata of the